

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 EB-07 OMB-01 COME-00 TRSE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EURE-00 /062 W

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P R 121736Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5308

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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E.O. 11652: /A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: TENTATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICALLY RELEVANT POLL DATA

1. IN TRYING TO PROJECT SPANISH POLITICAL ATTITUDES, NOTHING HAS HAMPERED US MORE THAN THE LACK OF SIGNIFICANT POLL DATA. DURING THE FRANCO ERA POLITICAL PARTIES WERE PROSCRIBED AND POLLS ABOUT ATTITUDES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES TABOO, THOUGH FRAGMENTARY DATA CAME TO LIGHT FROM TIME TO TIME. AND IF ASKED, MANY SPANISH WERE UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT TO RESPOND, FEARING THEY WOULD GO INTO SOMEONE'S FILE FOR FUTURE REFERENCE, AN ATTITUDE WHICH

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STILL PERSISTS. OR, LACKING THE VOTE, A GOODLY PORTION OF THE

POTENTIAL ELECTORATE HAD LITTLE REASON TO BOTHER TO DEVELOP POLITICAL ATTITUDES. POLLING DEALT WITH LESS CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS (E.G., WHAT CONCERNS YOU MOST? ANSWER - INFLATION) WHICH PROVIDED SOME INDICATION OF STATES OF MIND BUT LITTLE MATERIAL FOR POLITICAL INFERENCE.

2. DOUBTS HAVE ALWAYS ATTACHED TO POLL DESIGN AND RELIABILITY HERE, E.G., A FEW RECENT FRAGMENTARY POLLS DEALING WITH POLITICAL ISSUES HAVE BEEN BASED ONLY ON SURVEYS IN MADRID AND BARCELONA WITH NO INDICATION OF STRATIFICATION. IN THE NEW ATMOSPHERE TWO POLLS, HOWEVER, HAVE BEEN RECENTLY PUBLISHED DEALING WITH CENTRAL POLITICAL ISSUES. BOTH LAY CLAIM TO HAVING BEEN SCIENTIFICALLY STRUCTURED IN TERMS OF DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND HENCE AS REASONABLY REPRESENTATIVE OF SPANISH POLITICAL ATTITUDES AT THE TIME OF THE POLLS.

3. THE FIRST WAS DESIGNED BY SALUSTIANO DEL CAMPO AND ASSOCIATES AND CARRIED OUT BY ICSA/GALLUP, THE POLLING ORGANIZATION THAT USIA HAS JUDGED MOST RELIABLE IN SPAIN. DONE IN THE MIDDLE OF LAST YEAR IT PURPORTS TO BE A STRATIFIED ANALYSIS OF OPINION ON ATTITUDES THEN, WILL BEFORE FRANCO'S ILLNESS, AND HAS JUST BEEN PUBLISHED IN "INFORMACIONES." (THE FRENCH LE POINT POLL IS APPARENTLY TAKEN FROM THIS SURVEY.) THE SECOND WAS DONE BY METRA-SEIS (JUDGED TO BE REASONABLY GOOD) DURING THE LAST WEEK OF JANUARY AND THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR, QUITE RECENT THOUGH PRIOR TO THE VITORIA AFFAIR AND THE INCREASED UNCERTAINTY HERE. THE 1975 ICSA: GALLUP POLL WAS TAKEN IN 191 LOCALITIES ON THE BASIS OF 2,514 PEOPLE. THIS YEAR'S METRA-SEIS POLL WAS TAKEN IN 90 LOCALITIES ON THE BASIS OF A SAMPLE OF 2,000, WITH A CLAIMED MAXIMUM STATISTICAL ERROR OF 2.2 PER 100 AND MARGIN OF RELIABILITY OF 95.5 PER 100.

4. NATIONWIDE THE 1975 POLL SUGGESTED 8.8 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WOULD VOTE FOR THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT, 4.8 PERCENT THE FALANGE, .7 PERCENT THE CARLISTS, 1.1 PERCENT CENTRISTS, 3.3 PERCENT MONARCHISTS, 10.5 PERCENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY, 7 PERCENT SOCIALISTS, 6.7 PERCENT SOCIAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DEMOCRATS, 1.2 PERCENT COMMUNISTS, AND .2 PERCENT ANARCHISTS. THE SUM OF THOSE WHO WOULD NOT VOTE, DID NOT KNOW, HERFNNNO A  
EGDTFD  
CTWP  
W  
WINHZ SF #  
PERCENT. THE AUTHORS

CONCLUDED, REASONABLY, THAT THE SILENT MAJORITY COMPRISED A MIX OF IGNORANCE, INDIFFERENCE, AND FEAR AND IN THE FEAR CATEGORY, A GOODLY NUMBER MUST BE LEFTISTS. BY INFERENCE FROM OTHER DATA WHERE THERE WAS A MUCH HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ON LESS DIRECTLY POLITICAL SUBJECTS, THEY JUDGED THAT 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE REFUSED TO RESPOND BECAUSE OF FEAR. AGAIN, BY INFERENCE FROM OTHER QUESTION, THEY CONCLUDED THAT PERHAPS 9 PERCENT OF THE VOTING POPULATION WOULD BE RADICAL LEFT (EITHER COMMUNIST OR SOMETHING ELSE). WE NOTE THAT EVEN IF ALL THOSE WHO SUPPOSEDLY WERE AFRAID TO ANSWER HAPPENED TO VOTE COMMUNIST, WHICH IS MANIFESTLY IMPOSSIBLE, THE PCE VOTE COULD ONLY RISE TO 15 PERCENT OR 16 PERCENT BY THAT POLL'S DATA.

5. MUSCH HAS HAPPENED SINCE MID-1975. THE METRA-SEIS POLL -- TO THE EXTENT THAT ITS POLLING TECHNIQUES WERE ADEQUATE -- SHOULD PROVIDE A BETTER REFLECTION OF CURRENT SPANISH ATTITUDES (WE GAVE THE 1975 POLL FOR COMPARATIVE PURPOSES). RE WHICH POLITICAL GROUP THE RESPONDENTS WOULD VOTE FOR, 17.7 PERCENT SAID CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT, 8.9 PERCENT SOCIALIST, 8.1 PERCENT SOCIAL DEMOCRAT, 3.5 PERCENT LIBERAL, 1.0 PERCENT COMMUNIST, 1.9 PERCENT FRANQUISTA, 9.2 PERCENT MONARCHIST, 1.5 PERCENT REPUBLICAN, 1.7 PERCENT FALANGIST, AND 46.9 PERCENT DID NOT RESPOND OR SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR NO PARTY OR GROUP. AGAIN, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DATUM IS THAT A NEAR MAJORITY STILL REFUSE TO INDICATE A PREFERENCE. (THE DROP OF 8 PERCENT IN THE KNOW-NOTHINGS BETWEEN POLLS ALMOST CERTAINLY SIGNIFIES A GROWING DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR POLITICAL ATTITUDES.) BUT THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT FAILURE IN THE DESIGN OF THIS QUESTION, THE ELIMINATION OF AN UNDIFFERENTIATED "CENTER" PREFERENCE, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE FACT THAT MEDIA TALK MUCH OF THE NEED FOR THE CENTER, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRESUMABLY SLOWLY SENSITIZING SOME READERS TOWARD CENTER POSITIONS, WITHOUT THEIR NECESSARILY IDENTIFYING WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS OR LIBERALS, THE ONLY ONES LISTED THAT OBVIOUSLY BELONG IN THE CENTER, ALTHOUGH ONE MIGHT ADD SOCIAL DEMOCRATS TO THAT LIST. THE FACT THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO SAID THEY WOULD VOTE FOR THE COMMUNISTS (1 PERCENT) REMAINED ALMOST IDENTICAL IS OBVIOUSLY SIGNIFICANT, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE INCREASED FREEDOM OBTAINING AT THE TIME OF THIS POLL.

NOTE BY OC/T: SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 2849; #PARA. 4. AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EURE-00 /062 W

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P R 121736Z APR 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5309

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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6. THREE OTHER QUESTIONS ARE WORTH REPORTING. (A) ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE GOVT'S ACTIONS? VERY SATISFIED 7.7 PERCENT, SATISFIED 50.39 PERCENT, SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED 23.3 PERCENT, INDIFFERENT 0.2 PERCENT, NO RESPONSE 11.6 PERCENT. (B) IS THE GOVT MEETING YOUR EXPECTATIONS? COMPLETELY 11.2 PERCENT, IN GREAT PART 32.6 PERCENT, PARTIALLY 22.6 PERCENT, VERY LITTLE 10.2 PERCENT, NOT AT ALL 5.5 PERCENT, NO RESPONSE 15.9 PERCENT. (C) HOW IS THE RHYTHM OF DEMOCRATIZATION GOING? JUST RIGHT 26.7 PERCENT, TOO FAST 5.3 PERCENT, TOO SLOW 42.4 PERCENT, NO ANSWER 25.7 PERCENT.

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7. "ABC" CONCLUDES ROUGHLY BUT REASONABLY, THAT A GOODLY MAJORITY OF SPANIARDS BELIEVED IN FEBRUARY THAT THE GOVT WAS GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION THOUGH ALMOST A MAJORITY WOULD PREFER GREATER SPEED IN DEMOCRATIZING THE COUNTRY. "ABC" NOTES, WITHOUT GIVING THE DATA FROM THE STRATIFICATION, THAT THE OEPOLE FROM THE LOWER-INCOME GROUPS FORM THE STRONGEST COMPONENT OF THOSE WHO REFUSED TO RESPOND TO THE QUESTION ABOUT VOTING FOR A POLITICAL PARTY.

8. IN EXTENDING THIS ANALYSIS OUR FIRST QUESTION IS WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE SILENT, ALMOST MAJORITY. ABOUT 15 PERCENT REFUSED TO ANSWER ANYTHING, EQUITABLE WITH A KNOW-NOTHING BLOC THAT SHOWS UP IN POLLS ALL OVER. WE CAN MAKE A STAB AT ACCOUNTING FOR ANOTHER 15 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL SAMPLE BY EQUATING THOSE WHO SEE THE GOS AS MEETING THEIR EXPECTATIONS HARDLY OR NOT AT ALL WITH EXTREMISTS OF RIGHT OR LEFT. THE 4 PERCENT FRANCOIST/FALANGISTS AND THE 1 PERCENT COMMUNISTS MIGHT ACCOUNT FOR A THIRD OF THESE, BY INFERENCE PUTTING THE REMAINING 10 PERCENT INTO THE SILENT, ALMOST MAJORITY GROUP. IF THESE 10 PERCENT WERE ALL CLOSET COMMUNISTS, WHICH IS DOUBTFUL, THE PCE WOULD GET 11 PERCENT. WE FURTHER INFER, GIVEN THE GOS OPPOSITION T LEGALIZATION OF THE PCE, THAT THE PCE WOULD NOT HAVE MANY SUPPORTERS AMONG THE 66 PERCENT WHO INDICATED AT LEAST PARTIALSATISFACTION WITH GOS ACTION. ADD ALITTLE KENTUCKY WINDAGE AND ONE ESTIMATES A PCE RANGE OF 7 TO 15 PERCENT WITH THE LIKELIHOOD OF BEING CLOSER TO THE LOWER END. AGAIN, THIS TALLIES WITH THE FELT ESTIMATE OF KNOWLEDGEABLY SPANISH OBSERVERS THAT THE PCE (IF IT WERE ON THE BALLOT) WOULD BET AROUND 10 PERCENT.

9. POTENTIALLY TWO OF THE LARGEST BLOCS IN SPAIN WOULD BE A UNIFIED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND A UNIFIED SOCIALIST/ SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT. THE 9.2 PERCENT MONARCHIST SENTIMENT AFFIRMS THAT SPAIN IS NOT INTRINCICALLY MONARCHIST, THE SURVIVAL OF THE MONARCHY DEPENDING ON EVENTS RATHER THAN NATIVE FAITH. BUT IT COVERS UP THE FACT THAT ONE CAN BE A MONARCHIST AND, AT THE SAME TIME, SAY, A CENTRIST AND THAT MOST PEOPLE WILL SUPPORT THE MONARCHY IF THE PROCESS GOES WELL. AN IMPORTANT QUESTION SIDE-STEPPED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IS THE ISSUE OF PERSONALITY AND VOTER SUPPORT, SOMETHING THAT IS HIGHLIGHTED BY ANOTHER QUESTION IN WHICH FRAGA, OF THE CABINET, SHOWS THE HIGHEST VOTER IDENTIFICATION WITH 52.7 PERCENT (THIS DOESN'T MEAN THEY ALL LIKE HIM), FOLLOWED BY SLOIS AND AREILZA WITH 33 PERCENT AND 25

PERCENT RESPECTIVELY (ARIAS WAS NOT ON THE LIST). A CENTER GROUPING HEADED BY FRAGA OR, SAY AREILZA COULD CONCEIVABLY MOBILIZE SIGNIFICANT VOTE SUPPORT.

9. WHAT ONE CAN CONCLUDE, WE THINK, RATHER FIRMLY ON THE BASIS OF THIS SURVEY IS (A) THE COMMUNISTS DO NOT HAVE A LARGE VOTING BLOC AND THE GENERALLY GIVEN ESTIMATES OF ABOUT 10 PERCENT ARE CLOSE TO THE MARK, (B) THAT THE CENTER, IF IT GETS ORGANIZED, IS POTENTIALLY THE DOMINATING POLITICAL FORCE IN THE NEAR RUN IN A PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM, GIVEN SOME KIND OF PARLIAMENTARY COALITION AMONG MEMBERS ELECTED BY CENTER GROUPINGS, SUCH AS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, FRAGAITES, LIBERALS AND AREILZISTS, (C) THAT AFTER ALL THE INFERENCES AND THE EXTRAPOLATIONS ARE DONE, NUMBERS OF SPANIARDS ARE STILL POLITICALLY UNDIFFERENTIATED, WAITING ON EVENTS TO CRYSTALIZE POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN THIS NEW, OPEN ENDED SITUATION, MAKING FOR A LARGE POTENTIAL SWING VOTE.

10. THE DATA ON THE CE TENDS TO SUPPORT THE THESIS THAT THE SOONER THE SPANIARDS GET TO THE POLLS THE BETTER. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SO WHEN THE DATA FOR EARLY FEBRUARY SUGGEST THAT 67.1 PERCENT OF THE POTENTIAL VOTERS BELIEVE THAT DEMOCRATIZATION IS GOING ALONG AT EITHER THE DESIRED RHYTHM OR TOO SLOWLY, WHILE ONLY 5 PERCENT (PROBABLY INCLUDING THE 4 PERCENT DECLARED FRANCOISTE/FALANGISTS) THOUGHT IT WAS GOING TOO FAST, INDICATING WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIZATION.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** DATA, PUBLIC OPINION POLLS, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 12 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976MADRID02849  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760138-0536  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 30 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <31 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** TENTATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLITICALLY RELEVANT POLL DATA  
**TAGS:** PINT, SP  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC LONDON PARIS BONN ROME DUBLIN THE HAGUE BRUSSELS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006